

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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Poland/USR

An Error In Curzon's Note

The afore-mentioned error crept into the text of the British note of July 11th while it was being drawn up. The error can best be made evident by a juxtaposition of the texts of (1) the agreement concluded between Poland and the Powers on July 10 and (2) Lord Curzon's note of July 11.

In the transcription of both texts given below the individual sentences are juxtaposed-without interrupting the continuity of the original-so as to render their comprison possible;

Text of the Agreement concluded on July 10, 1920, between Poland and the Powers:

The Polish Government agrees:

(a) That an armistice shall be signed without delay, and the Polish army withdrawn to the line provisionally laid down by the Peace Conference of December 8, 1919, as the Eastern boundary within which Poland was entitled to establish a Polish administration, whereas the Soviet armies shall stand at a distance of 50 kilometres eastwards of that line.

Wilno shall without delay be relinquished to Lithuania and excluded from the zone occupied by the Red Army during the armistice. In Eastern Galicia both armies shall stand on the line fixed at the date of the signature of the armistice, after which each army shall withdraw 10 kilometres in order to create a neutral zone.

(b) That as soon as possible thereafter a conference sitting under the auspices of the Peace Conference should assemble in London to be attended by representatives of Soviet Russia, Poland, Lithuania, Latvia and Finland, with the object of negotiating a final peace between Russia and its neighboring states; representatives of Eastern Galicia would also be invited to London to state their case for the purpose of this conference.

(c) To the acceptance of the decision of the Supreme Council regarding Lituanian frontiers, the settlement of the question of Eastern Galicia, that of Teschen, and the future Polish treaty with Danzig.

In the event of Poland's acceptance of the above terms the British Government shall immediately send a similar proposal to Soviet Russia and should she refuse an armistice the Allies shall give Poland all aid, particularly in war material as far as would be possible in view of their own exhaustion and heavy obligations undertaken elsewhere. This aid would be given in order to enable the Polish nation to defend its indipendence."

Text of Lord Curzon's note to the Soviet Government, of July 11, 1920:

(a) That an immediate armistice be signed between Poland and Soviet Russia whereby hostilities shall be suspended. Ther terms of this armistice shall provide on the one hand that the Polish army shall immediately withdraw to the line provisionally laid down last year by the Peace Conference as the Eastern boundary with-in which Poland was entitled to establish a Polish Administration. This line runs approximately as follows: Grodno, Vapovka, Nemirov, Brest-Litovsk, Dorogusk, Ustilug, east of Grubeshov, Krilov, and thence west of Rawa Ruska, east of Przemyśl to the Carpathians. North of Grodno the line which will be held by the Lithuanians will run along the railway running from Grodno to Vilna and thence to Dzwinsk. On the other hand, the armistice should provide that the armies of Soviet Russia should stand at

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a distance of 50 kilometres to the east of this line; in Eastern Galicia each army will stand on the line which they occupy at the date of the signature of the armistice.

(b) That as soon as possible thereafter a conference sitting under the auspices of the Peace Conference should assemble in London to be attended by representatives of Soviet Russia, Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, ~~Finland~~ Finland with the object of negotiating a final peace between Russia and its neighbouring States; representatives of Eastern Galicia would also be invited to state their case for the purpose of this conference. Great Britain will place no restriction on the representatives which Russia may nominate, provided that they undertake, while in Great Britain, not to interfere in the politics or the internal affairs of the British Empire or to indulge in propaganda.

The British Government would be glad of an immediate reply to this telegram, for the Polish Government has asked for the intervention of the Allies, and if time is lost a situation may develop which will make the conclusion of lasting peace far more difficult in Eastern Europe. Further, while the British Government has bound itself to give no assistance to Poland for any purpose hostile to Russia, it is also bound under the Covenant of the League of Nations to defend the integrity and independence of Poland, within its legitimate ethnographic frontiers. If, therefore, Soviet Russia despite its repeated declarations accepting the independence of Poland, will not be content with the withdrawal of the Polish armies from Russian soil on the condition of a mutual armistice, but intends to take action hostile to Poland in its own territory, the British Government and its Allies would feel bound to assist the Polish nation to defend its existence with all the means at their disposal. The Polish Government has declared its willingness to make peace with Soviet Russia and to initiate negotiations for an armistice on a basis of the conditions set out above if directly it is informed that Soviet Russia also agrees.